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and uncles as well. I am inclined to believe that the words primarily refer to a person's maternal and paternal relatives whose children bear the relationship of *wanke* to the person. A strange point, however, crops up, namely, that the paternal aunts are called *atati* (*atati wabongwe*) and their husbands *atati* again. 601

An elder brother is *akulu*, his younger brother *mpwakwe*, a sister *mhumbe*, *mhumbe wamandi* and *mhumbe wakulungwe*, younger and elder sister.

Disease. Apart from old age, the native recognises in all illness and death the hand of an enemy or the result of transgression of some custom: some one has made medicine against him, or he or some one else has broken a custom founded on superstition which is visited on his head. These ideas are so deeply rooted in the native mind that it is with difficulty any appropriate treatment will be received. They rely, rather, on some medicine-man to cure them by medicine more powerful than that made against them. Even an ordinary accident or an attack of pneumonia is accounted for in this way. 753 754 164

The names given in speaking of sicknesses are, of course, applied rather to symptoms, but in some cases where the symptom named is pathognomic of a disease, the word practically stands for the disease. The word used may imply the supposed cause or refer to a resemblance to some object, or again simply state the part affected; thus *chitumbo* (the belly) meaning stomach ache, *meso* (eyes), conjunctivitis, etc.

The following words most of which are found in the Reverend Dr. Hetherwick's *Yao Language*, give some idea of the Yao native's conception of disease. The sense which the above authority gives is not always quite the same as I would venture to give. I shall not enter into the question of the diseases as such but only in so far as they bear on customs, etc.

The word *chihuulo* signifies any disease or illness; *chilopa* and *chipindupindu* refer to epidemic diseases; the former refers to a disease of fowls and dogs characterised by wheezing and hence is occasionally used for bronchitis in man. *Chipindupindu* refers to a series of deaths from a cause unknown to the natives. The word *chaolo*, which Hetherwick gives as meaning a plague, rather means arrow poison, I think. 164 753 192

Chombolo: a liver disease of fowls.

Chipapa: a congenital deformity of any kind (*kupapwa* = to be born with).

Chitwesimo: a patch of white hair on the scalp of congenital origin.

Chitwesimi (a cousin): the word used for a birth-mark or freckle; bellical fistula is also included. Children examine each other to see how many "cousins" each has; any-one with none is made fun of.

Chindumbumuli (*kumbumula* = a big lump): a hunchback.

Chiwuhulo (*ku-wuhula* = to split): a "splitting" headache, or more commonly, medicine by means of which the possessor can inflict pain or death.

Ching'alang'alo: a localised pain in the head.

Chinyungunyungu: giddiness.

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Chibuli: deaf and dumb (Chin); the word is used in slang to mean impotence.
Chiviziwa: an old word meaning high fever.
Chilundulundu: "*wabereka wawili chilundulundu,*" the woman died in confinement without giving birth (unopened). The sense of dumbness and constipation are secondary.
Kuhikha: constipation.
Maluvdungali: colic; *Mangonga,* rumblings in the bowels, borborygmi.
Mandindiki: "pins and needles."
Chikuwa: sore and swollen gums, pyorrhoea; has been translated scurvy.
Chingungulukuta: hardened skin, like a sore on the hand.
Njesuka: without eye-lashes, as result of disease.
Ndandagasi, Lungumbini: indistinctness of vision (Hetherwick).
Lesese: watering of the nose; nasal catarrh.
Mamboko: the secretion at the corners of the eyes in the morning, also the purulent secretion of conjunctivitis (Hetherwick translates "watering of the eyes").
Namila: nasal mucus.
Chimbondagolo: crusts from the nasal passages (Hetherwick translates merely "nasal mucus").
Likosomola: cough.
Chisungusya: after-pains of labor.
Ngwikwi: hiccough.
Ng'anang'ana: nystagmus, from a verb meaning "to look from side to side aimlessly."
Iwenga: any skin eruption supposed to be due to eating various substances, chiefly meat.
Ku-lilimuka: to have a rash on the body of the nature of urticaria.
Ngolokolo: the name of a condition in which the place where a man passes water becomes whitened; hence it refers to cystitis, lithuria, etc.
Chikonokono (*likonokono* = a snail): the white on the ground resembling a snail track left by a man with *Ngolokolo.*
Ndwwi or *Mhli:* smallpox.
Ndonyola or *Kasabola:* chicken pox; this term may also include other diseases with similar rash, i.e. modified smallpox and pemphigus.
Chilembo (*ndembo* = an elephant): elephantiasis.
Matona: leprosy.
Mapwanpwa: yaws (*chimatuli,* given by Hetherwick as "rodent ulcer," is a Chinyanja word for yaws).
Chindoko: (Swahili) syphilis.
Chisonono: (Swahili) gonorrhoea.
Lulachilachi: whooping-cough.
Chikuku: measles.

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192

Mbumu: asthma.
Chisisulo (*ku-sisula* = to scrape out): diarrhoea, dysentery.
Chipanga (*nhanga* = warthog): swelling at angles of jaws, mumps.
Lisundilo: nasal or bronchial catarrh.
Masuku: insanity; *mapupumpwe*, delirium of fever (Hetherwick translates as periodic madness).
Mbulu: sanities.
Litolomiso: goitre (*Idotela:* possum odour).
Ndawumulo: leucoderma of hands and feet.
Chiwupupulo: a pustule.
Chiwombolulo: a boil.
Chikanga (*nyanga* = the spotted guinea-fowl): ring-worm of face.
Limasu: any mark on the skin, e.g. birthmark, pigmented spot, ringworm, scar.
Ikuwusu: a wart.
Ndundi: a burn of the skin.
Lipulowu: a keloid scar (Hetherwick gives "boil").
Lumpu: a rash after shaving.
Lilulu: a blister.
Chipulowu: a wheal after a blow or an insect bite.
Chilipa: oedema of a limb.
Chipuyu: whitlow.
Lipulo: an abscess; sores, pus.
Lilombapa: an abscess; (*ku-umba:* to swell).
Liwunga: a sore or ulcer.
Mkuwupuwupu: a chronic ulcer.
Liwichikila (*ku-uyuka* = to come to life again): an ulcer which heals and then breaks out again.
Lilimbachipa: secondary enlarged glands in groin or elsewhere from a sore on the foot, etc.
Ndusi: Any freely movable lump under the skin, e.g. sebaceous cyst, pseudo, ganglion, etc.
Chilumi (*ku-luma* = to bite): rheumatism.
Upere: itch, scabies.
Ilonda mkamwa: thrush.
Lwanga: diarrhoea in infants with green stools.
Lukuwa: passage of blood in urine; Urinary Bilharziasis.
Ng'ala: ulcer or leucoma of cornea.
Ching'ang'a: rabies in dogs.
Liwichimi: round-worm of man.

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164 *Mampopolosi:* round-worm of dogs or found in the ground.
753 *Wakanyaw wafuma:* a barren woman (lit. dry).
192 *Chisumpulo:* sterility in the male.
Chinyumpulo or pofo: an impotent man or *M'mulo fwa (pepo:* a useless man!
Mpuli: impotent.
Mchesu (ku-chesa = to cut off): a " cut man "; a man soon after he has been castrated.
Mlenga: a eunuch after he has become fat.
Nambendiwa (*nalimwimwi* Chin.): the word is derived from *kubenda*, to misturate. Natives say that when disturbed, the insect of this name which is a lucanid, *Eupoliopsis duvaudi*, makes water which falling on the skin of the passer-by causes ulceration. I have seen a variety of cases of extensive ulceration due to syphilis, etc., assigned to the effects of this insect; I have, however, shown that it does secrete a corroding fluid from pores at the sides of the body which dropped on to the skin will dissolve the superficial layers of the epidermis and should such abrasions become infected, ulceration may, of course, result.
Utendeu: tremor, similar to the movements of one of the wasps.
Mwinenje: tremor of old age, paralysis agitans.

164 The preceding short list of words will give some idea of the richness of the language in
192 some directions and also its limitations. There now follows an account of diseases which are
753 based on superstition, generally connected with the idea of uncleanness or the transgression
688 of some rule of life. Whatever the symptoms, if there has been a transgression, the disease is labelled with the name of the disease supposed to follow the act. Similar diseases are to be remarked among the other tribes in the country; some of those relating to the Anyanja I have already mentioned,[1] and the following may be read as an amplification of the remarks previously made.

Chinguru (*Kenguru* Chin.) from *kunguu*, to defecate: At the birth of a child, if the contents of the bowel (meconium) are passed before the body is born (as often happens in breech presentations), the child is said to be " born with disease." One of the women attending the confinement will always go out and inform the husband of what has happened, saying, " *Afuki* 'chemwa," (it is born well) or " *Apuli ni chilundu*," (it is born with disease). This only refers to the passage of meconium and not to any antenatal disease.

When this significant event has happened, the husband may not occupy the same sleeping mat as his wife and have intercourse with her until the child of its own accord crawls from the mother's sleeping mat to that of her husband on the other side of the hut; *Ku-pitiqa mwenache ku mapeso* (*Ku-pitika mwana ku mpeso*, Chin.) = "to go the child to the mat." Should the husband disregard this custom, he will sicken with *Chinguru*. The symptoms commonly ascribed to *Chinguru* are pain in the loins and in the hypogastrium.

[1] 'Notes on some tribes of British Central Africa,' op. cit.

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This has led to the word being translated as Bright's disease (Hetherwick). No symptoms referable to the pudenda are included under this disease. *M'wera* (Chin. *Kupunda*): hydrocele; said to be another sequela. A woman called by the environment of her infant after birth is not considered unclean and intercourse will have no ill result to the husband. Sometimes in the event of *Apali ni chikanda*, recourse is had to the practice of intercourse between the woman and some other man. She is thus rendered "clean" and the man who is not her husband will not sicken. Such a man is called *Litwera* (see *Wikwakwa*).

Lwasa: a disease similar to *Chinguva*, which inflicts a man having coitus with his wife who has not been cleansed after abortion.

Kwisimula: a practice indulged in if a new-born child falls ill; the word refers to the "hardening" of pots when they are being made and the same idea is applied to the child. If the new-born child gets fever, the illness is ascribed to the *carunculæ myrtiformes* about the vulva of the mother. These are cut off by an old medicine-woman and the blood allowed to drop into a mortar; water and some leaves are added and pounded together, and the mother attired only in a cloth reaching to the loins, washes her breasts with the liquid while the baby is supported on one thigh; the child is then given the breast and the mother, turning her back on the mortar, pushes it over backwards with her buttocks.

Ya ujale (from *ualé*; Chin., *dze mukwa*): If a woman who, after the death of a child, has not been cleansed by medicine, adds salt to her husband's food, he eating it will sicken.

Yawupo (a Chinyanja word): If a man or a woman commits adultery and any member of the family falls ill, the natives say the illness is due to the unlawful act; the sinner is said "to have gone in front of the other"; *kuwapunda* (*wapundwa*, Chin.), "he has gone in front of," from *ku-punda* and *ku-pundwa*, to go in front of, *or ku-wapita* (Chin.), to go slyly in front of. Hence the word *tawupo* which also is used loosely for *dze mukwa*. If a child who according to custom has gone to stay with the grandmother, returns to the parents' house and the parents continue to have sexual intercourse, the child may sicken; it is said that the house is "hot" for the child and its disease may be called *tawupo*. Or if a child which has been weaned is again given the breast after the mother has resumed cohabitation with her husband, it may sicken with *tawupo*. And the husband is called *kawupondo*.

A child which is suckled after menstruation is reestablished, is not affected by any untoward symptoms.

In the event of a woman dying in childbirth, if it so happens the husband has committed adultery, he is held responsible for the death and her relatives claim very heavy compensation.

Ku-sinamilwa, to be met with (*ku-kwasanikwa*, Chin.): If the act of coitus causes the onset of menstruation and the husband cannot draw back in time to prevent himself being contaminated, he will sicken, and he is said "to have met with (it)" when referring to his illness. In this disease, the penis is said to withdraw into the bladder. Semi from the *rete*

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of the hut, *chenjidolo*, and the red part of the flower of the banana, doubtless on account of its shape, are used as medicine for this disease.

Kwimbanyama or *N'dabo*: If a man dies and his relatives eat of the food-stuffs left by him, such as corn from his grain-store, before they have been cleansed by medicine, they will sicken with edoko, the symptoms being anaemia and vomiting. The word *kwimba edoko* is also used for sickness due to partaking of food cooked by an unfaithful wife.

Chipute is a word used by both Tso and Anyanja to denote a disease which a man contracts from adulterous intercourse. Scott[1] derives the word from *ku-puta*, to stick to; the woman is so influenced by medicine made by her husband that should any man have adulterous intercourse with her, the disease will "stick" to him, while it will not affect the woman herself nor her own husband. Both the disease and the medicine made to cause the disease are known as Chipute. Secondarily, the word has come to be used for any disease which may be gained by sexual intercourse and is sometimes used as a general term for venereal disease.

Chipute cha chipula (*chipula*, a knife): A man who is going away from home obtains medicine and doctors his knife with it. As he leaves his house to go on his journey, he pretends just to remember his knife and calls for it. His wife brings it to him and it is put into its sheath; he then goes out and sticks it in the grass of the *roof* of the house. The medicine is made from the tail of a dog, an animal in which coitus is prolonged and the two animals cannot separate. Should the wife commit adultery, it is supposed that just as the knife was unsheathed and doctored with dog medicine, so the adulterous pair will remain fixed in coitu and be found out. This may be called *chipute cha kutega* (*kutega* = to set a trap).

The Anyanja make medicine with the same idea, *chipute cha kudzera* (*ku-dzera*, to set a trap, Chin.); medicine is put round the house and any man crossing the medicine and committing adultery with the wife will be trapped. In all cases, the man will become ill.

Chipute cha mimi, *mimi*, blood (*mwazi*, Chin.); disease caused by intercourse with a menstruating woman. Blood is passed in the urine.

Chipute cha mawa, *mawa*, pus (*mafinya*, Chin.): practically venereal gonorrhoea.

Chipute cha kimoji, *kimoji*, cotton (*nsalu*, Chin.): the discharge from the urethra resembles a thread of cotton; it is supposed that this thread can be pulled out endlessly.

Chipute cha nchenche, *nchenche*, the white-ants (*chiswa*, Chin.): so called when a man passes whitish-yellow debris in the urine. It is supposed that when he has finished passing water, white ants rush up the penis and enter the bladder, thus causing the pain which characterises this affection. The origin of the idea lies in the fact that if one sprinkles water or urine on the ground near white-ant burrows, the ants will come to the surface of the ground in numbers and make a rustling sound.

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[1] D. C. Scott, *A cyclopedic dictionary of the Mang'anja language*, *op. cit.*

Other hypothetical diseases which are caused by disturbance to nature are mentioned under various other headings. *Kanjoo*: a disease generally characterized by obstruction of the legs but in some cases by pains in the back, or loosely used for a variety of symptoms, is said to be caused by the entry into the body of a worm which lives in water-grass. This worm which I have had identified is a gordius worm and not known to be parasitic in man. *Lumi*: When a man kills another in battle, he will sit upon the belly of his victim; otherwise he believes he will sicken with lumi and his own belly will swell up like that of the corpse when putrefaction sets in. He is supposed also to hunger after more killing and blood. *Lilunga* is the name of a supposed disease which kills off one child after another in a family when they are about six months old. Congenital syphilis naturally suggests itself but I have never been able to verify this idea. *Lilunga lya kutota*: a supposed disease which causes the death of the first child when the second is born, the second when the third is born and so on, whatever the intervals between the births. Each child is said to push (*ku-tota*) the previous one out of this world. Under these circumstances the disease is ascribed to something wrong with the mother or father and they are examined by a medicine-woman or medicine-man, and any mavumbwe or an external pile found will be cut away.

If a snake inflicts two bites, the case will prove fatal. If a crocodile emits a grunting sound when seizing its victim, though he escape he will certainly die.

Treatment of diseases. Of surgical treatment there is very little to be noted. Nothing in the way of operation is performed with the exception of circumcision (see *Legends*).

An abscess is allowed to burst, the smallest tumor is left untouched, but accessory digits which are not rare, attached only by a fine pedicle, are snipped off.

The natives cannot extract teeth. They are incapable of rendering any assistance in cases of difficult labor. Dislocations are not recognized as such, but fractures are treated by the application of wooden sticks placed at intervals round the circumference of the limb parallel to it and held in position by twisted pieces of bark string (Pl. XXII, fig. 2). The principle of the treatment appears to be unknown.

The only instruments used consist of a small knife for incision, a cupping-horn, and a primitive form of funnel for administering enemata (Pl. XXII, figs. 1, 3, 4). The knife has a triangular blade with a stem which is commonly twisted at one of the corners. The knife is used for cut-cupping, tattooing, and circumcision (Pl. XXII, fig. 3). The cupping-horn is a small horn of a calf. The open is pierced and after application to the part, suction is made with the mouth and then the hole sealed by working a piece of beeswax over it with the tongue. The small incisions are made in the skin for the withdrawal of the blood. The cupping-horn is called *chumi* (Ishinoka, Chin.). Cupping is used for headache and for pain in the chest and back. The enema funnel, *chipelpo* (*ulembi*, Chin.) is made from the neck of a gourd to which is attached a hollow stem for introduction into the anus. Half a pint of an infusion of mosquito is injected for constipation associated with pain.

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and sitting within the circle, he blew his whistle which was irresistible to the nearest man who was then induced to come out of his house. When he had reached the grave, the water was sprinkled over him by the *jumbwinis* with the millet stalk from the disk on the grave, or he was struck with the goat's tail; in either case, he fell to the ground senseless. He was then ready to be dealt with. The *mbwinis* sticks, small bamboos filled with crocodile poison, were pushed up the nose and broken off to liberate the poison. Sticks might also be inserted behind the ear or in various other spots. The nearest was then beaten to wake him up; he ran off to his own village and there, a little later, he sickened and died, telling no one the cause. After death, the *wanbe* when preparing the corpse of the hitherto unsuspected *mwavi*, might find the end of the stick projecting from the nose or ear, the puncture elsewhere with the medicine adhering to them, and the case was revealed in its true colors.

At Mtwiche's village, there was a man called Liunga who professed to be able to extract the poison injected by the *jumbwinis* by causing his patients to undergo a vapor bath and to drink certain decoctions. This man would never reveal the name of anyone who came to him for treatment lest would keep that "trade was brisk." The symptoms of the mortal malady caused by the *mbwinis* are said to be intestinal obstruction with tremendous distention of the abdomen (peritonitis).

Of this same village, a story is told which, if not true, at all events illustrates the sort of thing that is believed. As has been mentioned above, whenever the *jumbwinis* blows his little horn, any *mwavi* will hear it and thinking it is one of their band calling, will go to meet him. A woman of this village told how she and her husband were sitting over the fire while the evening meal was cooking, when he suddenly jumped up and said he must go outside for a bit. She remonstrated and asked him to wait for his food, but he hurried off. Later he returned, complaining of feeling very ill; his belly swelled up and he died soon after. It was said that this man was very friendly with a woman named Alishi and that when he went out into the bush, he was heard calling in a low voice, "Is that you, Alishi?" When his body was examined, two punctures were found on the left side of the chest. It was supposed that it was Alishi he expected to meet and with her enjoy a cannibalistic repast, whereas it was a *jumbwinis* who had called and killed him.

This brief outline of a case of sickness, suspicion of witchcraft, death, and the consultation with the caster-of-lots, the witch-finder, ordeal poison, death, and the catching of the cannibal witch, has been given as a more or less connective story in order that it may be more easily understood. Some further details concerning the lot-caster, witchcraft, etc., must be added.

Lot-casting. Medicine men who cast lots were at one time fairly plentiful and were consulted on many matters, often of small importance from a European point of view. Chief of all were questions of witchcraft. The casters operated varied in different cases. In sowing and other important matters, the medicine man always used the *chisungu* (divining in-